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IMAGES OF "THE OTHER": "THE TURKS" IN GREEK CYPRIOT CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

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Abstract: The present study investigated how Greek-Cypriot children portray themselves, a Greek-Cypriot child and a Turkish child of the same age in terms of size, details shading and differences. Participants (boys, $n = 14$, girls, $n = 20$) aged 6 and 11 from a school in Limassol were asked to draw themselves, a Greek child and a Turkish child. Participants drew themselves significantly taller than a Greek-Cypriot child. The smallest figure drawn was the Turkish child. Furthermore, the Turkish figure drawn had darker shading, mostly a male- looking person and often included items such as a weapon. The results are discussed in line with studies on the analysis of children's drawings as a reflection of their feelings towards "others" in ethnically divided societies.

Key words: Children's drawings, Draw a man, In-group, Prejudice, Out-group

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INTRODUCTION

There is a host of research and theories regarding children's development of prejudice towards "others" in the form of what children of different age groups consider as "in-group", particularly those associated with their own race, as opposed to those considered as "out-group or others" (for a review see Levy, West, Ramirez, & Pachankis, 2004; Teichman, 2016). The consensus, with some exceptions (e.g., Teichman & Zafrir, 2003), is that children from a very young age (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Amato, 2001) form a mainly homogenous view of the other (Judd & Park, 1993), demonstrate negative feelings and hostility towards their "out-group" members whilst having more positive views towards the "in-group" (Lam & Seaton, 2016). In line with the latter conceptualisations, and dating back to the early 1950s, Sherif and Sherif (1953) argued that people in ethnically divided societies by conflict and war form their own personal, social identities and self-concepts and attribute the most undesirable traits and depositions to the "enemy" to the point of being seen as less "human" (see also, Rieber & Kelly, 1991). Targeting young children, Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005), Elbedour, Bastien, and Center (1997), Mertan and Husnu (2014) and Teichman, (2001) focused on two historically rooted and currently ongoing ethnically divided societies, namely, the Middle-East with the case of Israelis and Palestinians and that of the divided Greek-Turkish Cyprus in order to assess children's emotions and feeling towards the "other". One method of investigating the range of feelings that children may have has been to analyse their drawings, mainly of human figures, made by children of themselves or members of their own race and those of other races (Elbedour et al., 1997; Mertan & Husnu, 2014; Teichman, 2001).

Children's drawings, particularly of human figures, have evolved historically as a measure of intelligence (Goodenough, 1926; Harris, 1963) to an evaluative tool of the child's feelings such as fears, dislikes and anxieties as well as their emotions about people and events in their lives (Cox, 1993; Deaver, 2009; Golomb, 1992, 2002; Jolley, 2010; Nyman, Baluch, & Duffy, 2011a; Nyman, Baluch, Duffy, & Shinebourne, 2011b; Pala, Nuvvula, & Kamatham 2016). Bringing children's drawings to the context of war and ethnically divided conflicts, Elbedour et al. (1997) asked Arab participants aged between 13 and 17 in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to draw "whatever is in your mind" in an hour-long time allocation. The authors found that the drawings could be categorised in at least four distinct categories reflecting how children see themselves, ethnic group membership, intifada-related violence and drawings depicting other themes and scenes. Teichman's (2001) study was specifically directed at human figure drawings. Participants, 4 to 15-year-old Jewish Israeli children, drew a human figure of a Jew and an Arab in a random order. Amongst the

variables of interest was the size of the figure drawn (measured in centimeters). The size of drawing was shown to directly reflect children's level of interest in the topic drawn. Fox and Thomas (1990) reported that children generally drew those who they liked taller than those who they disliked. Israeli children in Teichman's (2001) study drew the Jewish figure significantly taller than the Arab figure. Furthermore, it was reported that "the image of the Arab" was less complex and of a lower quality by comparison, particularly by producing a figure which was much darker than an Israeli. In addition, it was ascribed with lower status, more negative feelings, and more aggressive behaviour. "The appearance of the Arab was more stereotypical; he was portrayed as dark-skinned and traditional. And the beliefs and intentions related to him were more negative" Teichman (2001, p. 758).

More recently, Mertan and Husnu (2014) aimed at the divided Cyprus case and involved Turkish-Cypriot children aged 7 to 13 years old. The political conflicts of Cyprus dating back to the 1960s led to the division of Turkish-Cypriots from the Greek-Cypriot community and the 1974 Greek-inspired coup against President Makarios resulting in interethnic war of 1974 (see Mertan & Husnu, 2014). Today the island is divided with one third governed by the Turkish Cyprus with approximately 50,000 population (only recognized by Turkey) and 180,000 Greek Cypriots under the government of Greek Cyprus (see Argyrides, 2013; Dodd, 2005; Dundas, 2004; Mehmet, 1992). Whilst there has been no major conflict between the two communities since 1974 there are nevertheless the roots of in-group favouritism and negativity towards the Greek Cypriots (Mertan, 2011) and the Turkish Cypriots (Hadjipavlou, 2007). Mertan and Husnu (2014) engaged in a variety of tasks to elicit what young Turkish-Cypriot children regarded as their "enemy". These included a free association (respond to the first word that comes to mind in response to questionnaire items such as "what does an enemy look like?") and to draw the picture of an enemy. The analysis of the drawings showed that the majority of the children made reference to physical violence and included more details in the drawings such as depictions of weapon, hitting or stabbing. Mertan and Husnu (2014) concluded that all Turkish Cypriot children had a conception of an enemy, regardless of age or gender, and they were able to both draw an enemy image and answer questions related to the enemy.

Whilst the Elbedour et al.'s (1997) and Mertan and Husnu (2014) studies mentioned above have been of interest reflecting what feelings children may have about "others" in the context of war and ethnic divide they differed in what they required the children to do when they did the drawings they, e.g., draw "whatever is in your mind", or very directive such as "draw an enemy" or "what does an enemy look like". What would be of interest is to see how children's feelings and emotions in their drawings about the "other" could be elicited in a non-directive manner; particularly

with respect to the key criteria reported in previous research as a reflection of children's image of the "other", namely, the size of the drawing, amount of details, shading, and differences.

The present study

The main question here was to examine children's drawings of the "other" from the point of view of a Greek-Cypriot child. There have been no reported studies of Greek-Cypriot children's portrayal of a Turkish child. The results of studies on Arab-Israeli (e.g., Teichman, 2001) cannot be generalized to how Greek children may portray Turkish children, as the latter studies reflect a deeply rooted conflict that has been flourishing with different levels of ferocity to this date – a feature that has not been seen for the Greek-Turkish divides in Cyprus at least for the past decades. Indeed, surveys amongst Greek-Cypriot students suggest a small but significant decrease in racism scores in recent years (Argyrides, 2013).

The study by Mertan and Husnu (2014) on Turkish children's depiction of enemy suffers from a major methodological consideration, namely, that the Turkish children were specifically directed to draw an "enemy" or "what does an enemy look like". Indeed, Barret, Beaumont, and Jennett (1985) reported that children's drawings may significantly differ if they are given explicit instructions on what to draw compared to just standard instructions. The present study thus aimed to examine Greek-Cypriot children's drawings of themselves, a Greek child of their own age and that of the "other", in this case a Turkish child of the same age. The key research question addressed was: Would a Greek-Cypriot child draw himself/herself in a different size to that of a Greek child or a Turkish child of the same age? As previously argued, children draw those who they like taller than those who they dislike (Fox &Thomas, 1990). The hypothesis was that children's drawings of themselves would be tallest, with other Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot following (Hypothesis 1).

The second research question was: Would different shading be applied when drawing themselves as compared to a Greek or a Turkish child? This is in line with an original idea developed by Koppitz (1968) of emotional indicators in children's drawings suggesting that children use darker shading when drawing figures who they dislike (see also Cox, 1993; Deaver, 2009; Golomb, 1992). The hypothesis was that children's drawings of themselves and Greek-Cypriot child would have a similar shade compared to the Turkish-Cypriot, that would be depicted with darker shading (Hypothesis 2).

Finally, the third research question regarded the use of details in the drawings. Would there be differences in the number and type of additions to the drawings (other than human parts) when Greek-Cypriot children draw themselves, a Greek-Cypriot child and

a Turkish child? Mertan and Husnu (2014) found that this was the case with the Turkish-Cypriot children's depiction of an enemy with 62.5% of the children's drawings including depictions of a weapon, hitting or stabbing. The hypothesis was that drawings of children's themselves or of an enemy (as in-group) would not contain weapons contrary to the drawing of a Turkish-Cypriot (out-group/enemy) (Hypothesis 3).

The focus of the study was on children of two age groups, 6 and 11 years old. According to Piaget and Inhelder (1956), very young children (below the age of 5 years) lack projective spatial concepts, thus do not represent the different views of objects. But with increasing age there is a shift from an internal model or idea of how a person is drawn to an externally presented model. It should, however, be noted that a strictly stage theory of children's drawings has been questioned (e.g., Selfe, 1977), the main arguments being that the roles of culture and environment had not been taken into consideration by Piaget and Inhelder. Thus, it would be of interest to investigate whether there are differences between children of the two age groups studied here in terms of their human figure drawings of self and the "other". The hypothesis was that older children's drawings would differ in all of the above measures from the younger participants due to the age gap by having bigger size drawings, paying more attention to facial colours and details in their drawings (Hypothesis 4).

METHOD

Participants

The participants were 34 children, 14 boys and 20 girls aged 6 (7 boys and 11 girls) and 11 (7 boys and 9 girls) attending the first and sixth grade. All participants were Greek-Cypriots by birth and were pupils of a school in Limassol, Cyprus.

Materials

An A4 size white paper together with a variety of pencils of different colours and erasers were made available for the study. There are, of course, different formats of asking children to do the drawings each with their strengths and weaknesses. In Teichman's (2001) study children were asked randomly to draw an Arab first or an Israeli first. However, the disadvantage is that instructions such as "now draw an Arab" "now draw an Israeli" may affect how children would otherwise make the drawings in a non-directive manner. It may also affect the time that the children may devote to each drawing as they may see the researcher as "watching each drawing" to completion before they are instructed to do the next. It was thus felt that the best

approach under the present research conditions, and for a more realistic drawing, would be to give only one set of instructions. The instructions were: Draw three pictures: one of yourself, one of a friend and a "Turkish" child. Children were then allowed in a more non-directive fashion to make a choice of which to draw first and how much time to devote to each drawing.

Procedure

The study was carried out at a school in Limassol in Cyprus by the first author, a Greek native of Cyprus. Ethical approval and permission for the current study was granted by Middlesex University Ethics Committee and from the primary school in Limassol. The parents of each child for both classes were given an information sheet providing details of the study. The information sheet, the consent form and the debriefing form were written in the Greek language by the first author and verified for accuracy by another native Greek speaking scholar. Following parental consent, the children were approached individually and asked if they would like to take part in a drawing task. If so, they were asked to make three drawings in any order they prefer, one of themselves, a Greek child of their own age and a "Turkish" child of their own age. They were then given sufficient time to complete the task. The researcher then made a note of their age and gender and thanked them for participating in the study.

Analysis of drawings

The drawings were analysed in relation to the size (height) of human figures as drawn in an upright position in centimetres. Researchers ensured for accuracy by going through the measurements made on more than one occasion.

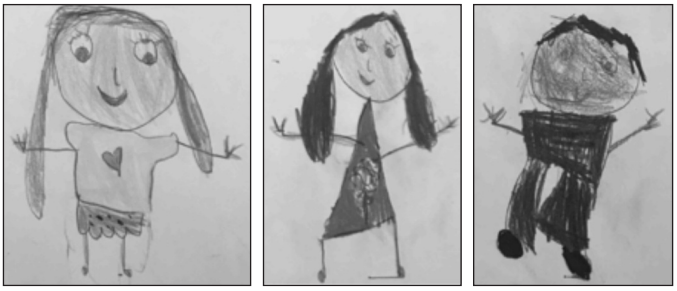

Figure 1(a, b, c from left to right). A 6 year old girl's self drawing (9.90 centimetres) that of a Greek child (8.60 centimetres) and a Turkish child (8.40 centimetres)

The drawings were also analysed for *details* made to each drawing in terms of counting items added to each figure drawn that are not part of a human figure. On the basis of the observation of the additions made that are not part of the human figure it was noticed that the range of items for self-drawings and that of the Greek-Cypriot child included (Sun, Dog, Trees, Balloon, Flowers, Necklace, Ball, House, and Swing) and for the "Turkish" child (Dark rainy clouds, Weapon, Tree, Turban, and Bomb). The researchers ensured for accuracy by going through the amount of details made on more than one occasion by the researchers.

Further analysis was made regarding the shading and differences between each of the three figures drawn by each participant. *Shading* in this context was defined as using any facial colours (rather than no colour). If this were the case then further differentiation was made as to whether shading changed from a light colour to a darker colour. For example, if a child had used no facial colours (or very light colours) for self and a Greek-Cypriot child but used a darker colour for a "Turkish" child this would be counted as shading. As a result, three distinct categories were identified: "All the same", "All different" and "Turkish different"

Differences and similarities in the drawings were defined as the extent of differences and similarities between each figure drawn in terms of visual appearance and gender. For example, if a female child had drawn visually similar female figures for self and a Greek-Cypriot child but had drawn a figure very different in features to the latter two (or indeed had drawn a male looking figure) this would be counted as difference. As a result, three distinct categories were identified: "All the same" "All different" and "Turkish different" To ensure the reliability of the above scorings (shading and differences) the scoring was examined by two researchers. The percentage of agreement for shading was 79% and for differences was 88.2% and for the size and details there were minimal differences between researchers in the number of non-human parts added and the size of the drawings.

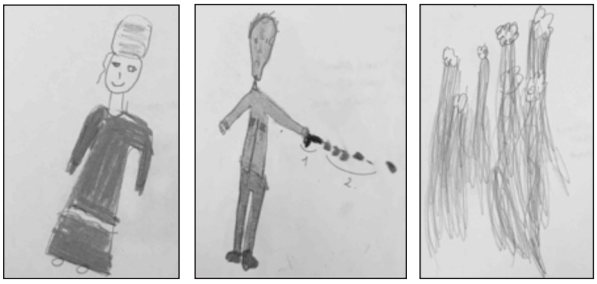

Figure 2 (a, b, c from left to right). Three images of a Turkish child as drawn by Greek-Cypriot children

RESULTS

Size of the drawings

Mean height of the human figures in centimeters together with the corresponding standard deviations (*SD*s) per gender and age of the child and the type of drawings (Self-Greek-Turkish) are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean size of drawings (Self, Greek child and Turkish child) in centimeters together with corresponding standard deviations as per gender and age of participants

	Type of drawing		
Gender (Age)	Self	Greek	Turkish
Boy (6)	10.67 (5.46)	10.20 (3.75)	9.72 (2.88)
Girl (6)	15.79 (6.72)	13.84 (6.73)	11.56 (5.32)
Boy (11)	16.61 (6.73)	14.40 (7.07)	13.02 (5.40)
Girl (11)	15.11 (5.50)	14.46 (5.53)	10.466 (4.12)

As can be seen in Table 1 overall the Greek-Cypriot children, regardless of age or gender, drew themselves bigger (taller) than a Greek and "Turkish" child of their age. A 2 (Gender) by 2 (Age) by 3 (type of figure: Self, Greek, Turkish) mixed factorial ANOVA with the last factor as within subjects was conducted on the size data. There was no significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 30) = 0.34$, $MSE = 26.26$, $p = .55$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$, or age, $F(1, 30) = 1.46$, $MSE = 110.01$, $p = .23$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$. All other two-way and three-way interactions were found not to be significant, in particular the two-way interaction of Gender by Age, $F(1, 30) = 2.04$, $MSE = 153.74$. $p = .16$, $\eta_p^2 = .064$. There was, however, a significant main effect of the type of figure, $F(2, 60) = 9.199$, $MSE = 94.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$. Post hoc *t*-test analysis showed the following significant differences: Self vs. Greek, $t(33) = 2.33$, $p = .02$, Self vs. Turkish, $t(33) = 3.87$, $p < .001$ and Greek vs. Turkish, $t(33) = 2.84$, $p = .008$.

Details to the drawings

Mean number of details per human figure drawing, together with the corresponding standard deviations (*SD*s) per gender and age of the child and type of figure (Self-Greek-Turkish) are shown in Table 2.

As can be seen in Table 2, overall it appears that girls had added more details to the drawings than boys; also, younger children tended to add more details to their drawings than older ones, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Table 2. Mean number of details (Self, Greek child and Turkish child) together with corresponding standard deviations in parenthesis per gender and age of participants

	Type of drawing		
Gender (Age)	Self	Greek	Turkish
Boy (6)	1 (1)	0.57 (0.78)	0.42 (0.78)
Girl (6)	1.81 (2.04)	1 (1.54)	1.45 (1.21)
Boy (11)	0.28 (0.48)	0 (0)	0.71 (0.95)
Girl (11)	0.88 (1.16)	0.33 (0.50)	0.66 (0.70)

A 2 (Gender) by 2 (Age) by 3 (Type of figure: Self, Greek, Turkish) mixed factorial ANOVA was conducted on the data. There was no significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 30) = 2.66$, $MSE = 2.56$, $p = .11$, $\eta_p^2 = .081$, or age, $F(1, 30) = 3.04$, $MSE = 2.56$, $p = .91$, $\eta_p^2 = .092$. All other two-way and three-way interactions were found not to be significant, in particular the two-way interaction of Gender by Age $F(1, 30) = 0.51$, $MSE = 2.56$, $p = .48$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. There was, however, a significant main effect type of figure, $F(2, 60) = 3.41$, $MSE = 0.675$, $p < .04$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.10$. Post hoc *t*-tests showed: Self vs. Greek, $t(33) = 3.12$, $p = .004$, Self vs. Turkish, $t(33) = 0.90$, $p = .37$, and Greek vs. Turkish, $t(33) = 1.97$, $p = .05$.

Shading and Differences

As can be seen in Table 3 there were differences in the manner in which Greek-Cypriot children drew themselves, particularly in relation to how they drew a "Turkish" child. Chi-square analysis showed that both shading and differences in the drawings had a significant association with the type of figure drawn, $\chi^2(2, N = 34) = 7.47$, $p = .02$, and $\chi^2(2, N = 34) = 14.17$, $p = .01$, respectively.

Table 3. Number of drawings in terms of whether or not shading (facial) was the same or different in each drawing and the extent to which the three drawings were similar or different in terms of features and gender of the drawing

Drawings	All the same	All different	Turkish different
Shading	18	5	11
Similarities	16	1	17

DISCUSSION

The key question pursued in the present study was how Greek-Cypriot children draw themselves, a Greek-Cypriot (Greek) child and a Turkish-Cypriot (Turkish) child of their own age. Of interest was the size of the drawings and the manner in which each figure was drawn in terms of details, differences in the figures and the shading applied to each figure. The results showed that indeed Greek-Cypriot children, regardless of age and gender, drew a Greek child of their own age smaller than themselves; but most noticeable was that the Turkish child was drawn the smallest. There were also indications that 34% of the children, regardless of age and gender, applied facial shading (a dark shade) to draw a Turkish child compared to how they drew themselves or a Greek child. Furthermore, the physical appearance of the Turkish child was often drawn with details such as a weapon or a turban. The use of the later addition may have implied a stereotype of how some of the participants may have visualized a Turkish individual when they produced the drawings.

Human figure in the context of war and conflict

The present results show similarity with Mertan and Husnu's (2014) and Teichman's (2001) studies in terms of size of drawings and amount of details, differences and shading of the "other". In general, children in the mentioned studies drew the "other" smaller, darker than those of their in-group, and at times included details such as a weapon to those considered as "enemy". This suggests "some communality in children's projection of their feelings towards others in the context of war and conflict even though the context and severity differs and the children are not directed specifically to draw an enemy.

It must also be noted that in the present study age and gender did not affect children's drawings. This was also noted in Mertan and Husnu's (2014) conclusions that all Turkish Cypriot children had one conception of an enemy, regardless of age or gender. A word of caution, however, is in order, namely that gender and age differences may be more salient if emotions towards the "other" are not assessed by human figure drawings but by use of more verbally elicited responses. According to Mertan and Husnu, (2014), there may be differences in the use of references such as evil, liar and hateful by boys and girls and by different age groups when asked to make verbal responses (see also Archer, Pearson, & Westeman, 1988; Cervantes & Callanan, 1998). Furthermore, no significant differences were found between the age groups of 6 and 11 years in the present study. This suggests that the roots of in-group/out-group feelings amongst children are deep and do not necessarily follow a strictly

stage course of development of children's drawings (e.g., Selfe, 1977).

Overall, the results of the present study could be explained by transgenerational theory in which it is argued that family beliefs, feelings, identity and culture are passed on from one generation to the other (Lieberman, 1979) and, thus, the passage of time may not make any changes to how children may feel towards "others" divided by conflict and war. Similarly, social learning theory (Allport, 1954) claims that children learn prejudice by observing and imitating important others, such as parents and teachers, becoming gradually more prejudiced with age. The role of media and school curriculum in reviving the roots of conflict and portraying a negative, hostile view of the "other" is also very important in all these considerations (Barrett, 2007; Mertan, 2011). Hence, there seems to be some communality on how children regard the image of the "other" regardless of time, nature and ferocity of the conflict amongst children in different ethnically divided societies

Key features in children's drawings of the "other"

The features of the drawings in the present study, namely, size of drawing, details, shading and differences, can also be seen in terms of children's emotions towards themselves and others. Specifically, with respect to *size,* Koppitz (1968) argued that the size drawn is an indicator of emotions towards self as well as others. For example, if a child has low self-esteem or feelings of intimidation they may draw smaller drawings of their self. Gellert (1968) found that taller drawings are used by children for people who seem to be more important or of interest to them. In support of the latter notion, Thomas, Chaigne, and Fox (1989) found that most children draw their parents taller than ordinary people, and similarly famous people are drawn taller than ordinary people suggesting that children's drawing of absolute size reflects their feelings of like and dislike. The results of the present study showed that Greek-Cypriot children drew themselves as the tallest compared to how they drew a Greek-Cypriot child of their own age and the smallest figure drawn was a Turkish child. (See Figure 1 a, b, c.) This is also in line with Teichman's (2001) study in which Israeli children drew Arab children significantly smaller (shorter) than they drew themselves. This suggests that the size of drawings by children can be used as an indicator of emotions children may have towards those they like or dislike.

With respect to the d*etails* children use, it is worth noting that in most cases when children are asked to draw just a human figure they do not include details or background to the drawing other than the human figures (Cox, 1993). However, when children are asked to complete a drawing when others are involved (such as the Family Kinetic drawings) one may see significant differences especially with regard

to the number of additions or details to the drawings (Burns & Kaufman, 1970). Baluch, Duffy, Badami, and Pereira (2017) reported that when children were asked to do three drawings of a football player, each from a different continent, they added more details to their drawings, such as goal post and spectators, depending on the extent to which they showed interest in the player drawn. Based on the present findings it seems that depending on who children are drawing, and given the view that they are not just drawing themselves but "others", they provide details in the format of additions which are not related to a human figure (e.g., a weapon). This is probably done to emphasise their emotion towards the target drawn. Reinforcing the latter argument is the careful examination of the nature of the added details to the self-portrait, that of a Greek-Cypriot child and the Turkish child. The self-portrait and Greek-Cypriot child drawings included items such as the sun, flowers and balloons whilst the Turkish child drawings included a weapon or a turban (see Figure 2 a, b, c).

In the case of *shading,* a noticeable finding in children's drawings is that they most frequently draw a "white" person even if they come from a non-white ethnic group. For example, Dennis (1966) found that children from Cambodia, Greece, Iran, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Sweden, Taiwan, Turkey, UK, USA and Germany drew human figures that appeared as a white man in a Western dress. Similarly, Papadakis-Michaelides (1989) found that among the 3200 figures drawn by 1600 children from five cultural backgrounds in the UK (English, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and West Indian) aged 3 years 6 months to 11 years 6 months only one figure was dark skinned. It thus appeared that if a child is using facial colour (shading) in their drawings there must be some good reason for such an action. Koppitz (1968) argued that shading is a sign of concern; for example, a child being abused may use shading to indicate their feelings (see Cox, 1993). Baluch et al. (2017) reported that when children have a model in mind, such as a football player, they do take shading into account. In their study it was found that British children tend to shade their drawings significantly more than Iranian and Brazilian children as an indication of the race of the player drawn. In the present study Greek-Cypriot children used shading (usually a dark shade) more often when drawing a Turkish child compared to how they drew themselves or a Greek-Cypriot child (see Figure 1 a, b, c). This is also in line with Teichman's (2001) study in which Israeli children used darker shading when drawing an Arab child. This suggests that taking into account the topic to be drawn, the feelings attached to the figure may have an impact on the extent to which shading is used in children's drawings.

Finally, in the case of *differences,* Nyman et al. (2011a), Nyman, et al. (2011b) found that children undergoing a major treatment in a hospital school drew

themselves very differently in terms of appearance compared to how they drew their best friend. In contrast, children's drawings in a mainstream school seemed to be very similar in appearance when drawing themselves and their best friend. This suggests that children's emotions about themselves and "others" play a significant role in their drawings. In the present study a significant number of Greek-Cypriot children drew the Turkish child different in appearance (mostly male looking) compared to how they drew themselves or a Greek-Cypriot child. At times the Turkish figure had details in the drawing, such as a weapon, or indeed the drawing had a non-human appearance (see Figure 2 a, b, c). Mertan and Husnu (2014) similarly found that when asking Turkish-Cypriot children to draw an enemy 62.5% of Turkish children's drawings included reference to physical violence, including depictions of a weapon, hitting or stabbing. It is of interest that in the present study when no mention was made to children to draw an "enemy", they nevertheless included elements of violence in their drawings when depicting a Turkish child.

Summary and Implications

In short, Greek-Cypriot children's drawings in terms of size, details and physical appearance (shading and differences) seem to play a significant role in how they depict "others", in this case a Turkish child in the ethnically divided Cyprus. In many ways the results seem to be in line with previous studies of similar nature involving Israeli and Turkish children and how they portray the "other". The interesting aspect is that although in the case of Cyprus the roots of the conflict date back to many decades ago, nevertheless in the eyes of the younger generation there are still negative feelings between the two communities. Such findings have implications for professionals when examining children's drawings in an attempt to understand their feelings about themselves and others and as a means to help overcome and alleviate any negative feelings. Follow up research could focus on the role of parents and media in how children's views are formed. Research could also examine how Turkish-Cypriot children draw a Greek-Cypriot child of their own age without being put in the context of drawing an "enemy". The results of such a study could contribute to our understanding of the extent to which there are communalities in how children in ethnically divided societies see the "other" in their drawings.

Limitations of the study

The literature review was focused primarily on studies of similar nature, namely, Arab-Israeli and Greek-Turkish in Cyprus. There are, of course, other sources of

conflict world-wide that one could touch upon but a) to the best of the authors' knowledge there has not been a reported study on children's drawing of human figures in other world-wide conflict zones that could have been reviewed here and b) the main aim of the present study was specifically to provide a complementary research in response to a study mentioned earlier on Turkish-Cypriot children's drawings of the enemy

Another noticeable limitation of the present study is the sample size which may account for some of the nonsignificant findings regarding gender and age differences in the drawings. However, one has to bear in mind that research on children has its limitations with regard to recruitment and having consent from all parties involved. It is thus a task for future researchers to target different schools in Cyprus. This would be a good basis for the generalizability of the findings.

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